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PAN-MANIA.

BY ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

THE latest and most virulent political disease, whose character is indicated by the title at the head of this article, is more difficult to diagnose than appears at first sight. It is capable of many variations and inconsistencies; and, in fact, its one distinguishing symptom is a tendency to megalomania and an arbitrary use of the word "Pan." The principal developments of Pan-mania at present (there is no reason to suppose that we may not have others in due time) are the Pan-American, Pan-German, Pan-Slav, Pan-Islamic, Pan-Buddhist and Pan-Hellenic.

It will be seen from this list that Pan-mania may have a racial, national, geographical or religious origin. There is, in fact, no group of human interests, no sphere of activity, no common ties which may not be arbitrarily lumped together and labelled "Pan" something or other. The one thing needful is that the community thus formed should unite, not in any special policy, but in regarding themselves as part of that special "Pan" family. Having attempted the impossible in making this explanation of a movement which is, in fact, neither logical nor coherent, and is only to be accounted for by the love of every people who are conscious of their political or social existence for a tripping phrase, we will now examine the historical development of Pan-mania.

People who decline to leave us any illusions as to the pictur-esque and unself-consciousness of the Middle Ages now assert that the Pan-Slav made his appearance in the fourteenth century. There is, indeed, evidence that one or two thinkers and writers who were far ahead of their times suggested, at this early period, the advisability of uniting the scattered Slav peoples—the Russians, Poles, Bohemians, Bulgarians and Serbo-

Croats—in a great Slav league, whose principal object should be to resist the Germanic Power under the Emperor of the Romano-Germanic Empire. Unfortunately for such a scheme, the Magyar nation had successfully effected the division of northern and southern Slavdom, nor was there any special inclination to union among the smaller Slav peoples. Most of them have traditions of wide-spread domination at one period of their existence. Moravia was the greatest of central European states in the ninth century, being the head of a confederation of Slavs which stretched from the Baltic to the Adriatic. Moravia was broken by the Magyars; but the greater part was absorbed by Bohemia, another Slav power, which was the premier state of the empire in the fourteenth century, and her capital the seat of the great Emperor Charles IV. Poland had her periods of greatness likewise; at one time she was the most powerful country, as well as one of the most civilized, in eastern Europe. But the fall of Poland was great in proportion, and to-day her provinces go to swell the empires of Prussia and Austria, while her main territory is under her neighbor Slav, the Russian. The story of the southern Slavs is no less tragic. Bulgaria was the earliest and greatest of their empires, had a literature of her own in the tenth century, and in the tenth and eleventh centuries was one of the great European Powers. The title of Tsar was conferred on the Bulgarian ruler five centuries before the Duke of Moscow took it. Yet she fell, first under Byzantine domination, and then before the rising power of Servia. Servia was in her zenith as late as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when she comprised in her empire not only modern Servia, but Croatia, Bosnia, Dalmatia, and the greater part of the Balkan peninsula. This vast empire (like other Slav creations, which were rather loose confederacies than empires on the Roman model) crumbled away with startling rapidity, and the rising tide of the Ottoman invasion swept over the Southern Slavs and submerged them for nearly four centuries.

The modern Pan-Slavist propaganda is sometimes declared to be the creation of the Pan-Germans, as a justification for their own existence. Naturally, it was made to centre in the one great Slav empire, Russia, and was patronized by those Russian statesmen and politicians who cherished the idea of improving the position of their country in Europe. The events which turned

Russia's gaze eastwards, and caused her to embark on that Oriental expansion which met such a violent check in the late war, naturally caused a languishing interest in Pan-Slavism; but in the affairs of the Balkan states Russia has never ceased to concern herself with the utmost zeal, in which her position as an orthodox Slav power is used to the fullest extent. But no one of the smaller Slav peoples is, in fact, really friendly to the Russian pretensions to the hegemony of the Slavs. The Balkan states do not forget how little they owe their great neighbor for assistance in regaining their liberty, and they all cherish hopes of recovering, in that no-man's land of European Turkey, some of the provinces and peoples which belonged to them at their golden periods. To such designs Russia, who has other plans for the inheritance of the Sick Man, can give no countenance. As for the northern Slavs, it might have been expected that the Czechs, in their struggle against German influence, would have leaned to their Russian kinsmen, and in fact a pro-Russian propaganda has been ventilated in Prague. The immediate effect was to alienate the sympathies of the Poles, who are racially, politically and geographically nearest to the Czechs. The present condition of Russia and the result of the Japanese war have, however, entirely diverted the current of racial feeling, and at the present time the Pan-Slavic movement in Bohemia is confined to what is really a national area, with some slight attempt to promote literary and artistic union with the southern Slavs. An interesting phase is to be observed in Hungary, where, to judge from official reports, Pan-Slavism should be flourishing. There is a considerable Slav population in that country and particularly in the northwest, where are found the Slovenes, remnants of the ancient empire of Moravia, who retain their national characteristics, costumes and customs despite many centuries of Hungarian rule. The Slovenes, however, are not ardent adherents of the Pan-Slav movement, which appears to them in the light of an attempt to deprive them of their national idiosyncrasies, language and traditions, and to tack them on (not politically but racially) to their more vigorous and successful Czech relations. But the Hungarian Government, bent on uprooting all national feeling among their subject peoples, finds it convenient to wage war on it under the guise of "Pan-Slavism," which would, of course, be tantamount to treason to the Hungarian ideal.

There is a considerable revival of Slav feeling among the Serbo-Croats and Slovenes, but this literary renascence, in which the Slav languages are reasserting themselves to the detriment of German or Latin (the old tongue of Hungary) is not a "Pan" movement, being, in fact, strongly individualistic. Even the literary renascence is marked by the jealousy of the different branches of the language; and Bulgars, Poles, Czechs, Serbs, and Croats dispute as to the purity and antiquity of their several tongues and will hardly allow merit to any but their own. Nor is there much political sympathy among these peoples. There have been Pan-Slavist congresses and much writing and talking under this head, but in all this there is a great deal of "Slav" and very little "Pan." In short Pan-Slavism, without a definite object, organization or common centre, is only to be considered seriously as a temporary expedient in the Austrian parliament or a pious aspiration for the *literati* of the various Slav countries.

Far otherwise is it with the second great "Pan," which has its central idea in the unity of the German race. Although not all coherent, Pan-Germanism has a solid foundation; and the idea of strengthening the bond that ties all Germans to their Fatherland is one that excites sympathy and has received approval from the Emperor himself. So long as Pan-Germanism means only an attempt to secure for the Fatherland the intellectual and spiritual allegiance of its children, even when their bodies owe fealty to an alien land, it is at once a great and an elevating ideal. The world owes so great a debt to German character and culture that it cannot consider such an allegiance to be otherwise than ennobling. But, unfortunately, the idea is Utopian. With some peoples such an attempt might be successful—the French-Canadians are an illustration of the tenacity of Latin civilization; but the German is of all peoples the most easily denationalized, not only in the political, but in a wider, sense, and to attempt to keep him German in heart and mind under foreign rule is to bind him with ropes of sand. Nevertheless, the Pan-Germanists who confine themselves to this view of their mission have a very active organization. In recent years, a systematic fostering of national feeling has been promoted through schools, clubs, economic societies, the clergy and a variety of other agencies. A number of these do not openly flaunt the Pan-Germanic ideal, but they are inspired by it, and frequently supported from funds at

the disposal of the central organization of the League. The headquarters of the League are at Berlin, where it has its own organ, the "*All-Deutsche Blätter*"; and since 1894, when it was reorganized under the leadership of Professor Hasse, it has had a career of phenomenal success. The societies affiliated with it are at least fifty in number, the most important being the General School Association; but an equally powerful weapon (for European use) is found in certain politico-religious societies, which have been recently active in promoting the "*Los von Rom*" agitation in Austria and Bohemia.

The mention of this movement brings us to the second phase of Pan-Germanism, and perhaps the one of most interest and importance at the present moment. This has as its *motif* the defence of German interests in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Since 1866, when Austria was finally excluded from the German Empire, the policy of the Hapsburg Government has been to cultivate a Catholic and Austrian rather than a Protestant and German sentiment among its people, but the rise of the Slavs and the growing independence of the Magyars have made this a difficult task. At the present time, a strong German reaction is taking place against the growing domination of Slavs and Magyars alike, and it was the promotion of this sentiment which led to the "*Los von Rom*" propaganda. So far have its advocates gone that they even preach treason to the Hapsburgs, and declare that German Austria must find protection under the Hohenzollerns. Thus, in Austria the Pan-Germans are actually organized as a political party with a definite platform—they are the only "*Pans*" of any kind enjoying this distinction; they have twenty-one seats in the Austrian parliament and add their voices to the clamor of nationalities in that heterogeneous assembly.

But there is a third and wider phase of Pan-Germanism which, ludicrous as it may sound in the telling, absorbs the energies and claims the sympathies of a wide circle in Germany. This is the expansion of the root-idea to cover all those peoples who were originally of Teutonic stock, except the English. Thus, the Netherlanders and Swiss, as well as the Teutonic element in Scandinavia, Denmark, the Baltic provinces, the Tyrol, Austria and Bohemia are to be united into one big Germanic family, the nature of the bond being left to the choice of the individual Pan-Germanist. Some believe in a great European Confederation

with Prussia at its head; others prefer the cultural and moral hegemony of Europe as their ideal. In the teeth of this vast scheme, however, we have the Russification of the Baltic provinces, the unsuccessful counter-attempts of Germany in Poland and her own Baltic territory, the revival of Czech, which is driving German out of Bohemia despite the fact that it is the official language, the encroachments of the Italian element in the Tyrol and even in Switzerland, the sturdy resistance of the Dutch, the quite recent effort to resuscitate Flemish, and many other indications that Europe does not view with equanimity the spread of "*Deutschthum*."

The colonial policy of the Kaiser, which is at present far from popular among his subjects, has of course been assisted by the Pan-German doctrine; but the only real success is to be found in the settlement of Germans in South America. Here there has been no active political and social organization with which to contend. In North America the presence of certain communities, and even of whole towns which have a German flavor, where German customs and the language still prevail, does not indicate a genuine survival of the German tradition. In no country do Germans lose more quickly the peculiar cast of mind which distinguishes them in Europe, nor is the cultural influence of the Fatherland strong enough to contend with the atmosphere of youth and democracy which surrounds them. Two generations, or even one, educated in the American schools—and very few German schools exist in North America—will be sufficient to turn the German emigrant, not only politically, but in all essentials of mind and feeling, into a thorough-paced American or Canadian.

Although the Kaiser gave his imprimatur to the general idea of Pan-Germanism, that cult is not officially recognized in the Fatherland and is, at the present time, rather inconvenient to, and therefore looked at askance by, the powers that be. It is rather a cult than a political propaganda (except in Austria), and, as such, it enjoys popularity and support among all the different political parties, wields immense influence, and dispenses a vast amount of money for the advancement of its various aims.

The third great Pan is one with which American readers are so familiar that the writer, compelled by the exigencies of space to compress his review of it, approaches it with diffidence. Mr. Blaine is generally credited with the paternity of the Pan-Amer-

ican movement, but it might also be claimed for Bolivar, the "Liberator" of Bolivia. The difference of interpretation which the two men would have given to the term "Pan-American" illustrates the difficulty of generalizing on the subject. It is obvious, however, that "Pan-American" did not originally imply, (as it is now assumed to do) the league of American republics under the headship of one special race of Americans. Nor is the Monroe Doctrine, which is sometimes supposed to be indissolubly bound up with the Pan-American scheme, in reality an essential feature of it. This view—the oneness of the Monroe and Pan-American doctrines—has received its most powerful support lately from the enunciation of the "Drago Doctrine," whereby international debt-collecting by force is to be prohibited.

The original idea of Pan-Americanism was undoubtedly nothing less than a great political league of American republics. Unlike the Pan-German aspiration, this would have only a geographical foundation, since there is no unity of language, civilization, religion or race on which the league could be founded. Subsequently this ideal was supplanted by that of an American Zollverein, but both the political and commercial schemes were rather anti-European than pro-American in the widest sense of the term. But the interests of the northern and southern continents are by no means identical, either commercially or politically, and, although the South-American republics are not averse to taking advantage of Monroeism when it suits them, they are not prepared to allow their great neighbor to assume the position which the modern Pan-American doctrine assigns to her. The cultural influences of Europe are still paramount with Latin America, and the commercial relations with Europe are still more important than those with North America. The first Pan-American Congress met in 1889 at Washington, the one tangible result being the establishment of the Bureau of American Republics. The second took place in Mexico in 1901, and the business done (out of a vast programme) was chiefly the resolution to meet every five years and a vote in favor of a Pan-American railway ("Intercontinental" would be a more correct term). The third Congress was nearly frustrated by recent events in Central America, but it has taken place without any hitch, and the chief result, after a great display of eloquence, is a resolution to refer certain questions to the Hague Conference.

As a matter of fact, there is no reason to believe that there is in the Latin-American republics any political sentiment, any range of ideas, which can be made the bond of union with the republic of the northern continent. "Americanism," in the sense of a feeling or ideal common to both continents, cannot be said to exist; and, if no other circumstance separated north from south, the question of color would be sufficient to do so. As for the prefix "Pan," it is only necessary to point out that Canada takes no share in the Pan-American propaganda, to indicate the inaccuracy of the term. Pan-Americanism is not a race movement like the renascence of the Slavs; it is not a national cult like Pan-Germanism; it is rather a political device, used by American statesmen, and chiefly popular in certain circles among those who do not see that the commercial and political sides of the question are closely interwoven.

The latest "Pan" movement is that of the Pan-Hellenes, which is racial and political, and directed against the Bulgarian or Slav population of the Balkans, among whom the Greeks have to live. To be a "Greek" in the Balkans does not necessitate Hellenic descent, but merely outward conformity with the orthodox ritual. The Bulgars have their own church, and the religious warfare has drawn the attention of Europe to the spectacle of two Christian peoples, living under Islamic rule, and murdering each other without mercy. Pan-Hellenism is also flourishing in Crete, where it has a more reasonable basis. The idea of labelling the party of Greek expansion "Pan-Hellene" was a very ingenious one; but it has a purely political foundation and is therefore not bound up in any way with the most glorious side of Greek tradition, nor identified with Hellenism in the sense in which intellectual Europe understands that term.

We have now come to two religious propagandas, Pan-Islam and Pan-Buddhism; and, beside the area and scope of these two, and the natural organization with which they are furnished, all other forms of Pan-mania are insignificant. The megalomaniac can allow his fancy full play with the idea of the two vast religious worlds, of Islam and of Buddha, united respectively for purposes of defence and even of offence. Pan-Islam has already been the subject of a study by the writer in this REVIEW,* and since then, in the past few months, a great deal of writing has

* In the number for June, 1906.

appeared on this theme. The facts are briefly these. Almost the whole Mohammedan world is living under alien rule, and Great Britain and France are the two chief Mohammedan Powers, having between them something like one hundred million Islamic subjects. The idea had grown up that Islam, once the greatest militant power in the world and ruler of half Europe, had entirely lost vitality, and that Islamic states are bound to decay. But careful observers have noted in recent years a genuine revival of Mohammedan enthusiasm, in place of the dead indifference which seemed to have paralyzed all Islamic communities. The Sultan of Turkey, who plays a considerable part in the Pan-Islam movement, has succeeded in securing from the entire orthodox Mohammedan world the recognition of his position as Kalifa; and, having won this, he is finding opportunities of using his influence in a manner which is embarrassing to other Mohammedan Powers, who are aliens. The position has been complicated by the ambitions of Germany (a non-Mohammedan Power), who for her own ends has acquired considerable influence with the Sultan. At the same time, he is reactionary in his internal policy, so that it is impossible to regard him as the protagonist of a progressive Islamic revival. Moreover, many ardent Pan-Islamites (like those of India) have reached a high state of civilization under foreign rule, and are not so much desirous of change in their political status as of the preservation of their religion in its full purity and the demonstration of its good qualities to the world. At the opposite extreme of this religious revival movement are the fanatical brotherhoods, such as the Senoussi, who are conducting an extraordinarily successful campaign in Africa, and spreading Islam by the most energetic means. They are the most dangerous factor in the Pan-Islamic propaganda, and the one which it is most difficult to estimate. How far their recognition of the Sultan secures their subservience to him, how far they are inspired by political or religious zeal, or are simply ignorant fanatics, it is impossible to say. They wield enormous influence in Northern and even Central Africa to-day, and the whole weight of that influence is anti-European.

It will be seen that Pan-Islam may mean to the polished Indian lawyer the cultural advance of his coreligionists; to an Egyptian fellah, it may be a call to raise the green standard and exterminate the cursed unbelievers. The singular feature of this

special form of Pan-mania is its catholicity. It has no limitation, ethnographic or national; and, though it is religious in name, it must not be forgotten that Islam is not merely a religion but a legal, social and political system in itself.

Pan-Buddhism, last in our list, is a phase of Pan-mania of which Europe is at present little aware. It had its origin before the Russo-Japanese war in the anxiety of Japan to awake the slumbering forces of national patriotism and the racial affinities of China. Buddhism, like Christianity, has had many schisms, and there is no central rallying-point for her coreligionists. A vast number of her most backward adherents looked till recently to Tibet, but the religious fervor of the Buddhist world has never been of an active or militant character, and the religion itself, pure and beautiful in its original conceptions, has degenerated and decayed until it has, in truth, no very practical influence save as a devitalizing force. The Pan - Buddhist propaganda originated with that section of the Japanese leaders who were averse to the development of their country as an European Power, and preferred to aim at the hegemony of the Orient. Bound up with this aspiration was the development of China, also on non-European lines, and the close alliance of the two chief Oriental peoples. Although official countenance was not given to the Pan-Buddhist scheme, it has enjoyed powerful support. Emissaries have gone to all Buddhist countries, and a genuine attempt has been made to effect a *rapprochement* between the different sections of the Buddhist world. Moreover, a college was established in China to give the Buddhist clergy a better training and raise them to a higher level, and in fact the whole policy has been to revive, for political purposes, the sense of religious and racial affinity between the Chinese and Japanese, and to stimulate national ambition. Such purposes as these are worked slowly and quietly in the East; and although Pan-Buddhists may meet together they do not advertise themselves very widely. The weak point in their scheme is its foundation upon a religion which is pacific and unsuited to the purposes of a political crusade.

These are the principal forms of Pan-mania existing at present, but it is difficult to see why ingenious politicians should not invent some new ones. There is as yet no "Pan-Latin," no "Pan-European," and no "Pan-Christian" league.

ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.